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Five studies on integration problems were undertaken at the Center for Human Relations Studies of New York University. One, by Rosner, studied whether a majority of youths, when placed in settings in which they were the minority, assumed characteristics which were roughly described as minority behavior. In spite of the general cultural values which give white people status as white, there was evidence that being a minority person in a situation where race was important had its impact upon personality; self perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors tended to reverse. School boards and superintendents of schools should not ask people if they want to integrate; instead they should make a firm statement of policy and not equivocate. They should not allow themselves to be put on the defensive about allowing integration in the schools; they should plan with and not for the minority groups. Community resources should be mobilized to create a climate conducive to good intergroup relations.							
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DESEGREGATION

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The Supreme Court rendered one of its most important decisions, by which enforced was a violation of the Constitution of the United States. Thus, the direction of race relations in the South, established in 1896 in the case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, was reversed. On the succeeding Monday in other decisions, the court made it clear that in education, but all other relations as well, the country was color blind.

It is significant that the court as well as the general public seems agreed that the relations between the races in public education is the most pivotal of all the Southern behavior patterns.

There is now placed upon the educational leadership of the South the responsibility of steering what is in effect, a social revolution in this generation. For there is little doubt but that "as the schools go—so does the whole pattern of race relations."

Desegregation has been a legal battle, carefully planned, brilliantly executed. Racial integration, however, is a socio-psychological process which can be accomplished only by education. Desegregation is the first mile—the forced mile. Integration is the second mile—the personal mile—the educational mile.

From a frame of reference the court lifted the Southern pattern of racial segregation, its uniqueness, and placed it in the category of a relic of the past. "Jim Crow" as a legal phenomenon is ceased to exist. The integration of racial groups into the common stream of community life, on the basis of equality for all, has become a national problem—equally acute in New York City, Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Georgia or Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Hence the repercussions of the decision resound in every community where racial integration is a problem. The tempo of adjustment is quickened throughout the nation.

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Bennett O. Stalvey

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EXPERIENCE DO WE HAVE WITH INTEGRATION?

In this framework there is urgent need for experimentation and study of the accumulated experience to determine what principles of integration can be discovered. Locke and Stern¹ brought together a compendium several years ago in an attempt to assemble the relevant information on this topic. Most of that material, however, represents unplanned, incidental or accidental bringing of groups together. This task which now is different in that this development represents consciously planned, bringing together of different groups as a social policy.

PIRE STUDIES

With this need in mind some three years ago the Center For Human Relations Studies of New York University started encouraging students to undertake doctorates in this general area. Several "fell by the wayside" of course, and some of those here presented are being prematurely reported because of the timeliness of the topics. In general, they deal with minute fragments of a total problem. It is hoped, however, that they make some contribution to the slowly accumulating literature.

The discussion of them may be repetitious, but perhaps the emphasis will be understood. The Rosner study undertook to ascertain if majority youths, when placed in settings in which they are the minority, assume characteristics which are roughly ascribed as minority behavior. In spite of the general culture values which give whites status as whites, there was good evidence that being a minority person in a situation where race was important had its impact upon personality. Self perceptions, attitudes and behaviors tend to reverse.

The complicating factor in the study, however, was the difference in the social climate of the two agencies. In the permissive climate the prejudices came out. In the more structured, authoritarian climate they were more covert. This factor of climate tends to complicate most studies of this nature. These data tend to say there may be a more wholesome mental health environment if there is allowed some racial conflict. So many instances which this writer has observed present a picture of "no trouble," yet a ritualistic impersonal relation between the two groups. Educators are in the dilemma of "how much do you sacrifice for mental health, and how much for good reputation of the institution." If two groups of whites in a school come to hostile relations little is thought of it, except perhaps that there is a youth problem. If, however, these groups happen to be of

¹ Locke and Stern, *When People's Meet*, N. Y., Progressive Education Association.

different racial backgrounds it becomes a race conflict. One other thing the study suggests is that minority behavior is a psychological phenomena and not a racial one. Thus whatever can be done to create new group patterns which cut across the lines of race, leads groups away from dominance-subversion relationships.

The Kuperer study tends to indicate that lines of group identification are rather deep set, that a manipulative physical education experience which brings youths together in an activity is not enough, of itself, to make for acceptance. Negro girls still chose Negro girls and whites, whites. Again, one wonders about the social climate of these relationships. Also, to be considered, is the whole context of community life including social class status of the different groups, the attitudes of school and other agency leadership, and above all the attitudes of other minorities towards Negroes as a minority. Would white children who were more secure in their own status have been more democratic than minority whites who were culturally marginal?

The Kramer study surveys and analyzes the patterns of association in three voluntary associations, i.e. three religious denominations. Here the role of leadership and strategy are limned against this great dilemma which religion faces. Brotherhood as an ideal is one thing—as a reality in a voluntary association, even the church, it is another. Here is highlighted some positive suggestions for social action. In all such associations the values are ambivalent. When one talks of the group's prejudice he must ask "Which prejudices?" for people are prejudiced favorably as well as unfavorably. In these instances the commitment of leadership is often the measure of difference as to how races relate to each other in such mixed situations.

Graham's study illustrates the "long view" approach. It documents a method that starts with some elements of a common heritage and a minimum of "room for movement" and expands slowly, but inexorably in the face of enormous odds. In this "working together" on common problems, it is interesting indeed to analyze the role relationships of those involved. People who are branded "bigots" in one role, are staunch defenders of interracial justice in the other. As a custodian of the high "institutional office" (even when it is a religious one) a leader seems to take the position which he deems necessary to that office, although it may be diametrically opposed to other roles which he plays.

The study also seems to say that a pragmatic approach is superior to a theoretical one. While W. E. B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington were arguing over whether education for Negroes should be classical or vocational, this group of Negroes and white people

were training students for leadership tasks in a climate in which doctoral studies were saying Negroes could not learn. Today's experience seems to indicate that it is not profitable to speculate on "ultimate" outcomes of race relations. (Would you want your daughter to marry a Negro Etc.) but rather there should be encouragement to concentrate on "What do we do next?" Ultimate outcomes are thereby left to those who are in the decision making positions at the time at which the "ultimate" solutions present themselves. In this manner "ultimate solutions no longer become the *raison d'ette* for bigoted behavior.

The baseball study is so well documented from so many sources that its inclusion is largely for purposes of social science analysis. It demonstrates the art, which well nigh bodes on science, of leadership toward democratic goals.

VALUES AND THE INTEGRATION PROCESS

One final word needs to be said concerning values. Social Science is rapidly discovering principles (dynamics) of human behavior, which allow the prediction of behavior, once certain facts about the situation are known. Prediction soon leads to control. Control can be, and in many instances is, manipulation. As in other sciences the "laws" of behavior are neither moral nor immoral. How they are used rests in the last analysis, upon the values possessed by the group using them. It is entirely likely that they will be used to circumvent desegregation, as well as to achieve it. The democrat must have faith enough in his fellow countrymen to believe that as a nation we desire that all our science be used to democratic ends, i.e. the fullest development of all peoples.

This writer believes that the "policy implementers" of our day have a right to the accumulated "know how" the behavioral sciences possess as they move to bring institutional practices in line with social policy—especially when that policy is backed by the basic idealism which is inherent in our Hebraic-Christian tradition. In fact, it would be the contention here, that "the implementer" has the obligation to use such principles as we know to prevent destructive conflict as groups interact with each other under his supervision in new relationships.

PRINCIPLES OF INTEGRATION

1. School Boards and Superintendents of Schools do not ask peoples if they want to mix.

This is the surest way to community conflict, pressure upon minorities, and organized opposition. The leadership of a school system has an obligation to *all* the people and their children. The

court has ruled that segregated education deprives a part of the people of their rights under the constitution. In this situation you do not ask the majority if they would "like" to respect the rights of the minority. You interpret your position to the community, but move, as in other similar aspects of administration from a mandate which transcends the here and now of public caprice. Unless the rights of the minority transcend a majority public vote there can be no democracy.

Rickey would never have crashed the color line in baseball had he waited until the players decided they wanted to play with Negroes. Saenger interviewed people at Lord and Taylor's Department Store in New York City who said they would not patronize a store which employed Negro clerks. These self-same people had been observed making purchases from Negro clerks only minutes before.

2. Begin with a firm statement of policy and do not equivocate.

No organization possesses good administration until all its employees and its publics know and understand its policies. No organization is considered to possess integrity if its policies are subject to change with every pressure which comes along. There is certain to be trouble if people discover that by "hollering" loud enough they can get exceptions to policy, variations to rules, and disregard of stated policy.

Not only is this important for the public, but equally so for personnel. Unless employees understand what policy is, they cannot be held responsible for its implementation. No policy becomes policy in many instances.

An excellent statement of policy is presented below. Supt. Corning and his staff drafted it for Washington, D. C. It would need to be different for some other communities, perhaps. However it is suggestive. It should be noted that it a) starts with the change in legal definition of the situation. b) its adoption by the board of education. Thus the superintendent knows how far he can go and have the support of his board. The statement reads:

In the light of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Bolling v. Sharpe*, the Board of Education of the District of Columbia, believing it to be in the best interest of all citizens of the community of Washington, and necessary to the effective administration of an integrated system within the public schools, hereby adopts the following declaration of policy:

1. Appointments, transfers, preferments, promotions, ratings, or any other matters respecting the officers and employees of the Board shall be predicated solely upon merit and not upon race or color.

2. No pupil of the public school shall be favored or discriminated against in any matter or in any manner respecting his or her relationship in the schools of the District of Columbia by reason of race or color.
3. Attendance of pupils residing within school boundaries, hereafter to be established, shall not be permitted at schools located beyond such boundaries, except for the most necessitous reasons or for the public convenience, and in no event for reasons related to the racial character of the school within the boundaries in which the pupil resides.
4. The Board believes that no record should be kept or maintained in respect to any pupil not enrolled in a public school prior to June 17, 1954, or in respect to any officer or employee not employed within the system on or prior to that date in which information is solicited or recorded relating to the color or race of any such person.
5. That the maximum efficient use shall be made of all physical facilities without regard to race or color.

In support of the foregoing principles, which are believed to be cardinal, the Board will not hesitate to use its full powers. It is pledged to a complete and wholehearted pursuit of these objectives.

We affirm our intention to secure the right of every child, within his own capacity, to the full, equal and impartial use of all school facilities, and the right of all qualified teachers to teach where needed within the school system. And, finally, we ask the aid, cooperation and goodwill of all citizens and the help of the Almighty in holding to our stated purposes."

3. Do not allow yourself to be put on the defensive.

One should not defend actions designed to fulfil the American Credo. When a student asked Branch Rickey why he hired Robinson—saying "You didn't have to do it," he responded "I don't have to answer that one."

You have to answer instead, "Why shouldn't I?" I judge him to be a qualified ball player. He is an American citizen. He was good enough to wear Uncle Sam's uniform. Why shouldn't I?"

America is an ambivalent society. While our practices are undemocratic our ideals are those of equality. Public policy has favored the practices up to May 17, 1954. New policy now favors the ideals.

In a suburb of Dallas, Texas, a few years ago a member of a teachers group asked this writer "What about the bombing of the Negro home here last night?" The question was turned by saying the principal of a Negro school had asked the same question—"How could he teach democracy to his students in current events with this bombing the night before?"

At this point the superintendent became defensive and responded "I would say there are two sides to that question. One is moral. Of course such violence is not moral. The other is legal. After all it was against the law for the Negro to move in that section."

To this a classroom teacher responded "But isn't it too bad that law and morality are not on the same side."

The Supreme Court ruling has placed law and morality on the same side. Few there are who will challenge actions in line with these ideals—The administrator should not try to defend obeying the law and fulfilling our most fundamental obligation of leadership, namely, that it be moral.

4. Don't worry about prejudices. Don't try to "Brain Wash." Instead, bring peoples together to do a job, and concern self with climate in which they interact.

People's prejudices are private affairs. They become of public concern only when officials allow them to get in the way of responsible performance of duty.

This author had the opportunity of assisting with six sessions for the principals of the school system of Washington, D. C. recently. They were called "on company time" to "review existing inter-group problems" and to "contemplate the challenges which would be presented should the court desegregate." Many of the principals were admittedly prejudiced. This was the first time they had been brought together as a racially mixed group. There was some anxiety on the part of some as to what would happen. One remarked to a colleague, "I guess I'll go get my brains washed today."

To have preached, pleaded, etc. would have been fatal. After a presentation of the purpose of the meeting the chairman would invariably break the group into mixed "buzz sessions" for them to formulate the problems. From this point the chairman as well as the consultant (both from the outside) became resource people, to help them with their problems. It was heartening to hear them say "We are professional people. This will be a new dimension of growth to our professional competency."

Already before the meetings were over many of them said: "I realize I am prejudiced." Where can I turn to prepare myself to meet this challenge. The climate of the meetings had been conducive to a quality of interaction which allowed people to move at their own pace, but more importantly, respected personal prejudices. Better relations happen when people are allowed to move creatively rather than defensively.

5. Plan With and not For minority groups.

One of the greatest mistakes is that of planning without the involvement of all segments of the community. Many Northern communities have found it profitable to bring a Negro staff member to headquarters to assure themselves that the viewpoint of the Negro community is included in planning. There is bound to be distrust and anxiety on the part of the Negro community, if they never know

plans until it is too late to correct objections, except in the light of public discussion. This is usually a well justified anxiety, for the average educational administrator has "social blind spots" about the Negro community served by his school system. Many years ago Moton wrote a book entitled *What The Negro Thinks*. Its theme was that no white person actually knows what the Negro thinks for he has never had the experience of being a Negro.

This mutual involvement can have a very creative effect. In many Southern communities (because of the equalization ruling) Negro personnel have been privileged to attend some of the best Northern and Eastern universities. They have a contribution to make, not just to "Negro education," but to education.

The psychological sense of being "shut out" is perhaps one of the most devastating parts of discrimination. Mutual involvement in planning can do much to correct it.

6. Bring groups together as peers.

Such information as we have indicated that integration succeeds best where persons are brought together as equals. The most disturbing aspects of present programs of desegregation are that they seem to provide for Negro children to go to white schools and not the reverse. They seem to make little allowance for Negro personnel. These actions infer inferiority of the Negro group and are likely to make trouble in the years ahead.

7. Don't make the compromises for those responsible for making the decisions on matters of policy.

Too many superintendents decide not to move on issues because they "think" the board of education won't approve. Being thus shielded, the board members never have to wrestle with problems which would foster their own growth.

Mr. Rickey would not make the compromise of playing his team without Negroes. Thus city officials of Florida had to face issues they would otherwise have been shielded from.

This is particularly crucial in the South. The court has for sixty years shielded public administrators from wrestling with racial problems, for the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision said it was legal to segregate provided facilities were equal.

Sometimes, too, administrators underestimate the qualities of their boards. An instance of this occurred in a Pacific Coast city a few years ago. The superintendent submitted his list of appointments for approval. One name was out of alphabetical order. The chairman asked why this was so. The superintendent said he thought they

might like to consider it separately because the person was Japanese. The chairman said, "Why should we consider it separately? Is the person qualified?"

The superintendent said "Well, if you feel that way about it, maybe I'll submit the names of some Negroes next time."

The chairman responded, "If they are qualified there is no reason why you shouldn't. Why should race have anything to do with it?"

Here, a superintendent had mistakenly assumed the board would not like to have minority people in the staff and had shielded the official policy group from ever having to consider these crucial problems of policy, for he had made the moral compromises for them unbeknownst to them. If educators sell democracy short, by accepting such responsibilities, there can be little hope for growth.

8. Plug all existing weak places in present program.

Any new stress such as that of integrating a new group into a school shows in glaring detail the already existing weaknesses. It should be remembered that when the fundamental principles of child growth and development are applied, something has already been done toward bettering intergroup relations. For example, psychologically, we know that frustration tends to beget aggression. In situations where people do not have a feeling of success they tend to seek a scapegoat in others. This is illustrated by a recent attack on Jewish children in a school. The animosity, it was found on examination, stemmed not from anti-semitism *per se*, but from a type of school organization in which slow and fast learners were segregated. The Jewish children were of high socio-economic status and predominantly constituted the fast group. The other children of low socio-economic status resented the accelerated group. A rigid authoritarian teacher is a poor educator. In a mixed racial situation she is shown up more than when she is simply leading a homogeneous group.

Any administration or program features which make for poor mental health, inevitably provide the seeds of disagreement and friction in any situation. In a mixed situation it frequently takes on racial coloration.

9. Mobilize community resources to create climate conducive to good intergroup relations.

Educators everywhere are beginning to realize the merit of Hart's statement of many years ago to the effect that no single agency of this community can produce the sort of citizens we have the right to expect our children to become. Only a good community can do that.

Many administrators are finding a great resource in agencies such as official intergroup relations committees, and councils of social agencies. The larger communities are finding that how people relate to each other is a responsibility of politics as well as education. There are many groups in almost any community who have worked to improve race relations over the years. In addition many people of liberal tendency have not been vocal because of the futility of bucking the impossible. This unanticipated resource will undoubtedly come to the aid of any administrator who takes the lead.

10. Don't be disturbed too much by the ballyhoo and protest put forth by the opposition at the time policy is being decided.

Past experience tends to indicate that the controversies occur at this point rather than at the time policy is to be implemented. It is a rare thing that there has been trouble when desegregation was actually put into operation.

11. Don't allow difficulties which arise to be given a racist interpretation.

Educators are called on every day to deal with problems of intergroup difference, e.g., social class, slow learners versus fast learners, newcomers into the neighborhood, new teachers to the staff, etc. Most problems of desegregation are problems of this nature rather than problems of race. Race is only incidentally or accidentally attached to it. Leadership will need to be wary that these differences are not given racist interpretation.

12. Be prepared to service needs for in-service growth as teachers see the need for sharpening their skills in working with these problems.

Materials for curriculum, guidance, social science background, etc. will all be needed as classroom teachers begin re-interpreting their teachings to mixed groups instead of racially homogeneous ones. Materials on the nature of prejudice will be needed for those who feel challenged to examine their own attitudes against scientific data.

* * * *

Above all, there is good indication that education will move ahead in great strides as leadership catches the thrill of having a vital part in bringing America's practices in line with her professions; a part in healing the traumas of the past and opening the channels for full participation in the future of this great nation of ours. For the next two decades American Educators are truly in the front lines. In this fight for democracy, we will need all the arts and what science we can muster, mixed generously with great spiritual and moral commitments to win the fight.